How The Military-Industrial Complex Wrote the GOP Platform, Pps. 2-3

Neither A Dove Nor A New Nixon: Was He Implying Use of Nuclear Weapons?

"How do you bring a war to a conclusion? I'll tell you how Korea was ended . . . Eisenhower let the word go out . . . to the Chinese and the North [Koreans] that he would not tolerate this continual ground war of attrition, and within a matter of months they negotiated."

—Nixon privately to Southern delegates as printed Aug. 7 in the Miami Herald *from a tape secretly taken by one of them. Eisenhower claimed in his memoirs that he settled the Korean war by implying that he would use nuclear weapons if a truce were not signed.*

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Only McCarthy and An End to The Bombing

The only hope for the Democratic party and the country at this late hour is an end to the bombing of North Vietnam and the nomination of McCarthy for President. Only a turn-about toward peace and a fresh face untainted by collaboration with Johnson offer any chance of bringing a victory in November and a restoration of faith in normal politics. The Nixon-Agnew strategy is not just a "Southern" strategy but the mobilization of white backlash against black aspiration and of small town prejudice against urban sophistication. This is what Rockefeller's defeat at the Republican convention meant; he's no liberal, but if you substitute "urban" for liberal, the real issue becomes clear. He symbolized the big city, and the big city involves some comprehension of the black man, who is beginning to hold its fate in his hands.

Only The Obverse of Nixon's Policy Can Win

The only chance for the Democrats is the reverse of Nixon's strategy. Their only hope is a policy which will restore them to leadership in a coalition which includes the majority of the blacks, the peace movement and the disaffected youth. They cannot win by a "me, too" policy in the South and the racist suburbs. Nixon may well feel he can afford to antagonize the blacks with the Agnew candidacy, and play to the right because the war and its concomitants have alienated from Johnson and Humphrey the blacks and the youth who would not vote for Nixon anyway. Nixon is out to prove to Wallace's followers that they belong in the Republican party. His strategy is to swallow up the Third Party and thus win a majority. The counter-strategy for the Democrats is to win the elements which would go into a Fourth Party. Only an end to the bombing, the opening of substantive negotiations, the nomination of McCarthy can do that. The alternative is to put the country further on the road to repression, race war and political disintegration.

The moment of greatest illumination at the Republican convention came when Nixon drew cheers by promising a new Attorney General. Ramsey Clark is by far the best member of Johnson's Cabinet, a liberal Attorney General and a man whose policies helped to keep the Poor People's March from ending in a bloody shambles. That and Nixon's attack on the courts for being too easy on criminals provided a measure of the unthinking fear and prejudice to which he intends to appeal in the campaign. His target is not the worst but the best in the Democratic years; the fight against the Fortas and Thornberry nominations by Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats is another index of the forces Nixon hopes to ride into the Presidency.

Why Hanoi Spoke of "Shameless Liars"

"The number of North Vietnamese soldiers now entering South Vietnam is greater than at any time in this war. We estimated that 30,000 or more North Vietnamese soldiers entered South Vietnam in July."
—Johnson at press conference July 31.

"The Pentagon in the past has claimed it takes 4 to 6 months to refine infiltration figures. Until Wednesday [July 31] the latest available infiltration figure was for last December."
—George C. Wilson from the Pentagon in the Washington Post *August 3.*

"Week by week the number of North Vietnamese army personnel in South Vietnam mounts steadily."
—Harriman at the Paris talks, July 31

"North Vietnam Troop Pullback Estimated at 50%."
—Christian Science Monitor headline same day

The *Wall Street Journal* Aug. 9 reported that Johnson was planning a halt to the bombing that would pave the way for "a triumphant visit to Moscow" and convert the Democratic convention into "a big wild party" for his birthday Aug. 27. This may reflect some wishful scenario dreamed up within the Administration. No last minute trick can restore faith in Johnson nor make it possible for Humphrey to erase his own fervent identification with the hard-line views of both Johnson and Nixon. Johnson at press conference July 31, like Nixon at press conference Aug. 6, shut the door on any political compromise with the NLF. The credibility gap Johnson created is a Grand Canyon which cannot be refilled in a day. Johnson can ably save his party and atone for his ruinous record by making his abdication real and final, taking poor Humphrey with him, and clearing the way for McCarthy. *Aug. 13*

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On National Defense, Space and Foreign Policy The New G. O. P. Platform . . .

All political platform-writers cultivate amnesia. This beneficial affliction is evident in that portion of the new Republican platform which deals with National Defense. "All the world was respectful," it says, "of America's decisive strategic advantage over the Soviets achieved during the Eisenhower Administration." On the contrary, the Eisenhower Administration was accused by the Democrats and the aviation lobby of allowing first a bomber gap and then a missile gap to develop. Both turned out to be figments of the armament salesman's imagination. But eight years ago the Democrats were accusing the Republicans of endangering national security by falling behind in the arms race. This time the Republican platform makes the same accusation against the Democrats. Kennedy called Eisenhower's term in office "years of the locust" in which "we obtained economic security at the expense of military security." This time the Republicans charge that "advanced military research and development have been inhibited and stagnated by inexpert, *cost-oriented* administrators." [Our emphasis.]

A Mere 100% Rise

One difference between 1960 and 1968 is that we were then spending some $40 billion plus at the Pentagon while this year it will be $80 billion plus. This year's requests by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, before Secretary Clifford pared them down, was $102 billion. But the Republicans do not think those who administer the military budget ought to be "cost-oriented." It is they who now talk of "gaps." Though the Democrats are spending twice as much as did the Republicans, the Democrats are accused of "frittering away superior military capabilities" by "standing still" and "enabling the Soviets to narrow their defense gap, in some areas to outstrip us, and to move to cancel our lead entirely by the early seventies." The Republicans picture the Navy saddled with "second-best weaponry" (the TFX), submarine improvements delayed while "the Soviets have proceeded apace", anti-submarine warfare "left seriously inadequate, new fighter planes held up and new strategic weaponry left on the drawing boards." In the platform plank on Science, they also "deplore the failure of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to emphasize the military uses of space." The Republicans "regard the ablility to launch and deploy advanced spacecraft as a military necessity." The platform reads as if written by General Dynamics.

Vietnam All Over Again

"I point out that this [ABM debate] is like Vietnam all over again . . . Three years ago we launched a ground war in Vietnam. We were stampeded then, as now, into a commitment which is draining our Treasury, dividing our country, and sacrificing our men in an enterprise that never had a chance of success in the first place, and everybody knows it . . . Yet here we are launching another multi-billion dollar enterprise on grounds as flimsy as the arguments made for Vietnam . . . Fifty billion dollars and 6 years later, they will all grow silent again, as they have on Vietnam, while they privately confess it was all a big, sad mistake."

—Nelson (D.-Wisc.) *in the Senate, August 1. His amendment to delay the initial construction of the ABM for a year was defeated, 46 to 27.*

"The [Gulf of Tonkin] resolution will pass, and Senators who vote for it will live to regret it."

—Morse in the Senate, August 6, 1964.

The Republican concern for the military is again evident in the platform plank on A Healthy Economy. The Republicans say "such funds as become available with the termination of the Vietnam war *and upon recovery from its impact on national defense*"—our italics—"will be applied in a balanced way to critical domestic needs and to reduce the heavy tax burden." The first priority will be to rebuild our "starved" armed forces. In our July 8 issue we called attention to a series of Johnson Administration speeches which tried to prepare public opinion for the news that even if the Vietnamese war ended there would be little money available for domestic needs because the money would be needed by the military to cope with backlogs of delayed weapon improvements and depleted inventories. Did not the Under Secretary of the Treasury on June 25 explain that the military had been fighting the Vietnam war "on a very, very lean budget?" Only after these military needs are met will the Republicans apply what is left, if anything, "in a balanced way" to "critical domestic needs" and to "reduce the heavy tax burden." The suffering poor will be helped equally with the suffering rich, but only after our suffering military have been taken care of.

In its special study last May 24 of the Military-Industrial Complex, Congressional Quarterly reported, "One Pentagon source told CQ that 'any increment over $40 billion in the

Getting Ready To Lose The Next War, Too?

"Gen. Wm. C. Westmoreland is steadily getting members of his old Vietnam war team into top spots in the Army headquarters in Washington. The swearing in yesterday of Lt. Gen. Bruce Palmer, Jr., as Army Vice Chief of Staff, is only the latest evidence of this trend. Westmoreland, now Army Chief of Staff, and Palmer also were one-two in the Army command in Vietnam. Palmer had the title of Deputy Commanding General there . . . The Vietnam stamp is unmistakably on many of the recent Army shifts. These recent appointments show the Westmoreland team is in position in strength to influence the future policy of the Army and the Nation:

"Lt. Gen. Wm. B. Rosson, Commanding General of the First Field Force, Vietnam, to an undisclosed post in the Joint Chiefs of Staff office . . . Lt. Gen. F. C. Weyand, from Commander in Chief of the 1st Infantry Division, Vietnam, to Special Assistant for Counter-Insurgency for the Joint Chiefs of Staff . . . Maj. Gen. Jos. A. Christian, from Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence in Vietnam to the same intelligence job for the Army Department . . .

"'We're getting our best at the top,' said an Army officer with Vietnam combat experience. 'The Army is going to be the better for it.' . . . The critical view of the Westmoreland team comes from officials who regard its performance in Vietnam as a failure. One such critic, who served in Vietnam as a counter-insurgency specialist, said:

'My God, they're putting those very same guys in charge of the whole Army!'"

—George C. Wilson in the Washington Post *July 30.*

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. . . Reads As If Written By General Dynamics For A New Arms Race

post-Vietnam defense budget will be purely due to pressures by the military-industrial complex rather than to the defense needs of the nation." Congressional Quarterly in that same study said "Several highly placed Administration and industry sources said cuts totalling $10 to $15 billion could be made in the defense budget while retaining or improving the current level of national security." That saving alone would be enough, according to a report made some weeks ago to Governor Rockefeller, to scrap our present welfare system and initiate a system of guaranteed minimum income for the poor. But the platform's long and lachrymose platform plank on The Poor says not one word about any income guarantee. On the poor, the Republicans are "cost-oriented."

The Same Language As Rusk

One paragraph in the foreign policy plank endorses "limitation" of arms provided there are "trustworthy guarantees" against violation. But a major section of the National Defense Plank is devoted to specific areas in which the Republicans would step up the arms race. They want to build more missile-armed nuclear submarines and to stimulate military research in an effort to find "major innovations" in weaponry. They pledge "to assemble the nation's best diplomatic, military and scientific minds for an exhaustive reassessment of America's worldwide commitments and military preparedness." There is no sign, however, of any retreat from a Pax Americana. In a passage of the foreign policy plank which sounds exactly like Rusk, the Republicans say, "We do not intend to conduct foreign policy in such a way as to make the United States a world policeman." But the very next sentence, again exactly like Rusk, says "However, we will not condone aggression or so-called 'wars of national liberation.'" In the plank on Vietnam the party does express its concern over "hastily extemporized undeclared wars which embroil massive U.S. Army forces thousands of miles from our shores" but the solution favored seems to be the use of more airpower. For the next sentence says "It is time to realize that not every international conflict is susceptible of solution by American *ground* forces." (Our italics). Our colonial cops will travel in B52s.

If there is any doubt about the GOP's commitment to Pax Americana, Nixon made it clear at his Aug. 6 Miami Beach news conference when asked whether he now thought the Vietnam war unwinnable, "I do not think that the war is not winnable and I should state further that I certainly do not seek the Presidency for the purpose of presiding over the destruction of the credibility of the American power throughout the world." This paraphrases Churchill's famous last stand for British imperialism.

Normally our next issue would go to press Aug. 27 but that will be the day before the Democrats nominate and we will be in Chicago. So the next issue will go to press instead Sept. 3 and be dated Sept. 9.

How Seattle Should Learn To Stop Worrying And Love The ABM

"Mr. PELLY (R.-Wash.): Three sites [for the Sentinel] are under study inside or near the city of Seattle and its vicinity, and we are having great difficulty in getting the Army to justify whatever decision they are going to make as to a location. The people in my congressional district do not want any antimissile missile located in or near the city. But the question I cannot answer, for which the gentleman could give me information, is if a successful Sentinel is developed, then in the event that we did intercept a nuclear weapon coming in our direction, would that contaminate the atmosphere to the point that it would result in a "kill" in the city or in the vicinity where these Sentinel sites will be located?

"Mr. SIKES (D-Fla.): Not necessarily, and probably not . . ."

—House debate on the ABM, July 29.

The First And Essential Step Toward Preventing War Between The Races

The lessons of Vietnam need to be applied to the confrontation shaping up between white America and its black ghettoes. The situation may be clarified and a mutually tragic outcome avoided if we drop all subterfuges and euphemisms. We must be prepared to see first of all that we face a black revolt; secondly, that the black ghettoes regard the white police as an occupying army; thirdly, that guerrilla war against this army has begun.

The guerrillas, as in the beginning of all colonial revolts, are but a handful. But they have it in their power to widen the conflict. The effect of the ambushes which have begun to occur in various cities is to deepen police hatred and fear of the blacks, and therefore to stimulate those very excesses and brutalities which have made the police a hated enemy. As in Algiers, terror and counter-terror can mount until the dynamics of the struggle mobilize a majority of the oppressed and turn guerrilla war into mass uprising. All the "riots" so far will seem minor when and if this occurs.

What is the lesson of Vietnam and other colonial wars? That the key is political and not military. Repressive measures merely intensify the political struggle. The political struggle can only be won by giving the colonial population some form of self-government.

To rid the ghetto of an alien police is the first step toward defusing the conflict. Police tend to be brutal in every society when they confront protest. This brutality is worse when the police are of another race from the people they are trying to control. The evidence that our white police are anti-black has been overwhelmingly demonstrated in a whole series of reports and outbreaks.

To substitute black police for white, *and to let the black community control its own police,* would be equivalent to the first step toward self-government in a colonial dispute. The white police tend to shut their eyes to organized crime in the black community, to prostitution and drug-peddling, while saving their zeal for black militants. A black police force run by the black community could reverse that emphasis. Law and order would no longer seem a synonym for racial oppression. There would no longer be that atmosphere in the ghetto which sets off conflagrations through a mere arrest or error.

A few police shootings in Brooklyn, Cleveland, Los Angeles and elsewhere are but flashes of summer lightning, which warn of a coming storm. The first step in preventing not just "riots" but war between the races is to let the ghettoes police themselves.

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The GOP Convention Was Not Without Its Cheering Aspects

From a Marxist-Leninist point of view, the Republican convention was clearly a victory for the working class. A poor boy grew up to defeat a Rockefeller for the Republican nomination. Those massed millions in last-minute TV and newspaper advertising failed utterly to overcome a militant armed with the correctd political line. His proletarian loyalties were so little affected by success that he at once planned to celebrate by visiting Moscow and discussing his future plans in the Kremlin. He was unfortunately dissuaded by nervous bourgeois advisers.

From Dog Pound to White House

Another cheerful way of looking at the convention is to notice how firmly the party has committed itself to turning power back from Washington to the State and local governments. If anything happens to Nixon after his election, the Presidency will be turned over to a Man Who only six short years ago had reached eminence no higher than leadership in the Kiwanis Club and the Parent-Teacher Association in a suburb of Maryland, ranking somewhere in the rural hierarchy between a deputy Sheriff and a duly elected dogcatcher. The Republicans have proven again that in America anybody is liable to become President.

The convention was a humbling affair altogether for Us Ethnics. It was hard to listen to Goldwater and realize that a man could be half Jewish and yet sometimes appear to be twice as dense as the normal Gentile. As for Agnew, even at a convention where every speech seemed to outdo the other in wholesome cliches and delicious anticlimaxes, his speech putting Nixon into nomination topped all the rest. If the race that produced Isaiah is down to Goldwater and the race that produced Pericles is down to Agnew, the time has come to give the country back to the WASP's.

TV is ruining the two-party system. Mayor Daley is smart to keep that electricians' strike going through the Democratic convention. The advantage of a national primary would be to shield the American public from too intimate a view of its politicoes at work and play. It would take a comic genius to duplicate some of the ideas Republican speakers came up with. We remember with special pleasure that passage in Ivy Baker Priest's nominating speech for Ronald Reagan in which she said, "We cannot afford the status quo." The only real sense we could get out of that remark in that upper bracket assemblage was that maybe some delegates were falling behind in the payments on their yachts. We had always assumed that the status quo was something Republicans could never have too much of. Another oratorical banana peel was dropped by Agnew, whose style of delivery reminds us strongly of W.C. Fields. In nominating Nixon, he quoted his hero as saying, "Right now change rules America. It is time for America to rule change." This sonorous tidbit sounded as if Nixon were casting himself as a modern Canute. The G.O.P. has been trying for years to hold back the tides.

Sour Footnote on A Favorite Panacea

The Republican platform, like all the Democratic candidates except McCarthy, advocates private enterprise as the panacea for a wide variety of social and economic problems from urban blight to foreign development. This dreary nonsense is being parroted everywhere. Private enterprise doesn't even have enough social responsibility to handle the far simpler problem of averting inflation by limiting increase in profits to a reasonable share of increased productivity.

The very morning the GOP convention opened, the Wall Street Journal's weekly page one "Outlook" column called attention to the fact that "a major culprit" in the creeping inflation of the past two decades "may be corporate profits." That paper's analysis by Alfred L. Malabre, Jr., showed that in the three periods of rising factory prices in the past 20 years, labor costs had been declining and corporate profits increasing sharply before the price climb started.

The Korean war played its part in the first of these inflationary periods and the Vietnamese war in the third and current one. But the pattern was the same; higher prices were not needed to meet labor costs or sustain profits. In the peace-time inflationary surge which began in late 1955, labor costs were dropping and corporate profits had risen 70 percent. The inflationary spark in each period was the unrestrained greed of private or corporate enterprise.

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